and sisters' children would gather to divide what wealth there was. The greatest share would, of course, go to the brother who would marry the widow, but all the others would get something.

"And his children, the children he made, would they get anything?"

"Why no, the children he made are his wife's children. They belong to the family of his wife!"

"But suppose he cared for them very much. . . ."

"Then he might have made them some presents now and then when he was alive, but even then some people say it is better not to give them too much. When a man dies his possessions go to his family. If this man's children, who really belong to his wife, were to take things now, they would get a kunu for it, and they might get another kunu which the father had, for if they got his possessions, his kunu would go to them, too, and there would perhaps be one in their own family that had come to them through their mother. No man or woman wants this."

It is kunu, then, which sees to it that the tribal law of succession and inheritance through the female line is not violated.

4

There was the case of Aaikaau, our paddler, who was the brother of the head of an important clan, which gave us still another instance of the workings of kunu. Aaikaau was, in his own right, not a negligible figure. When his brother died, it might be he who would succeed to the headship of the clan. When the other paddlers wanted things of us, they would come to ask in his name. "It is not a small thing when Aaikaau asks," they would say. "He is a big man; he is the brother of our chief. You must not refuse him."

Aaikaau had a way with the women, although it would have been best if at least one of them had resisted him. She was married, and, when her husband discovered her infidelity, she went to Aaikaau. Now this was as it should

Jr Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
583 Bush Negroes 583
Saramacca

holding a stick the size of a well-grown boy's arm. Round and round they went, as the widow from her doorway moaned her lament, and guns sounded in honor of the dead. The more important the man, the more guns were fired. Their own men had been the Granman's brothers. There was shooting till . . . till late afternoon, when they could not delay the bathing at the river any longer.

Before dark, all had to go to the river to bathe, and the widow, too, was led there with the others. There she purified herself, and discarded her mourning clothes, drawing on new cloths, and making herself fit with ornaments for the ceremony of rejoicing. This was followed by dancing which lasted late into the night. All the gods might be danced to at an adyo ceremony—Adonko; Vodu, the snake; Opete, the buzzard; Tigri, the jaguar; and all the gods of the bush and the ant hill—and, at the beginning, the seketi social dances and the half-sacred awasa. These dances were held for the spirits of men and women alike, and it did not matter whether the dead, or the living members of the family of the dead, shared these gods with the rest of the villagers, or not.

"But mourning is not over yet," said Fenekonde.

Seven months more elapsed, she showed on her fingers, before a woman might cohabit with her brother-in-law. If there was no brother-in-law to take her, then a woman had to wait twelve months after the adyo ceremony, instead of seven.

"If a woman doesn't care for her brother-in-law," continued Fenekonde, "or he doesn't care for her, then, when the seven months have passed, he comes to her hammock for two nights. Then she can go to another man at once."

When the husband who had died left no brothers, and there was no one else in his family to take the widow, the family of the dead man sought out a husband for her.

"They look and they look, until they are weary," said the Granman's younger wife, "but a man must be found before a woman can come out of mourning."

II Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1929-1930) 1934
[illegible]
Surinam

she doesn't make children, then he can send her back. But most often it is the woman who goes away."

When the wife left the home her husband had built for her and went to her family, he had to go to her village and plead for her return, while her relations berated him soundly for his behavior toward their kin. If he had not mistreated her badly, the family would urge her to return to him, and so great would that pressure be that she would have to go. But Bayo again repeated that this did not happen often. If a woman left her husband and he failed to come for her, they were divorced. She could not remarry until three months had passed.

But Bayo was more interested in marriage than in divorce, and the talk again turned to his betrothal.

His mother and her brothers had decided upon the match. His uncles had gone to the family of the girl, and talked with her mother's brothers. Her people called a family krutu to decide whether Bayo was qualified to be a suitable husband for this young member of their family.

"Were you there?"

"No. It was a krutu of her family. But I know how they talk at these krutu, for when my sister was promised in marriage my own family had a krutu, and I sat and listened. Anybody who knew anything bad about my brother-in-law or his family told of it. They talk much at these krutu. The woman you met at Djamungo talked when the men talked, and she talked when the women talked," he finished with a laugh, as though it were a relief to him to know that at least she had had no say when his girl's family had gathered to look into his own family position, and his personal habits of work, and the gifts the gods had given him.

At this krutu of the girl's family, Bayo had, however, been thoroughly discussed. Was he a good worker? Could he hunt well? How did he behave in strange villages? At his initiation had the gods come strong to him? Had he done anything that his wife's family would later be ashamed of?

The white man wondered about the kunu which hung over Bayo's family, the kunu of incest, the deadliest of all

584 This was a disgrace. A man was not looked upon as a good suitor by other girls when this happened to him. Everyone said he was worthless. It often came to pass that such a man could not get a woman to marry him. Not [586] even a widow whose husband had left no brothers, and who had to cut her own field, would consent to live with him.

Sometimes it happened, too, that the man's family did not approve of the girl. When she came to help his mother, they saw that she was lazy and inept, that she would never be able to feed herself and her husband and her children with what crops she raised, that whatever handiwork she touched, she could achieve nothing pleasing. If that happened, then his family met in krots, and a decision was reached to break off the match. When that was done, the man often had to forfeit the gifts he had made the girl and her mother, but when the woman's family turned the man down, then they came with all the gifts he had given, and often an additional offering as well for what labor he had done for her family.

"With me it is not so. My family likes my girl, and here likes me."

585 When the gifts were accumulated and the houses and boats and fields provided, then, if the girl was ripe for marrying, the marriage day was set, and on that day the girl was brought to the house where she would live. Both families were gathered in the village, and the uncles and old women addressed themselves to the young couple, admonishing them to live well together, and to observe the traditional ways.

[587] At night while the villagers danced bandumbo, and feasted on the rum and salt beef and other delicacies which the man and his family had provided, the couple were led to the house which had been newly built for them, though sometimes they were taken to the house of one of the old people of the man's great family. In Bayo's village, the girl first was conducted to the house by a sister who helped her make the preparations for the night. They tied the hammock and then water was brought. This done, the man

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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tradition and authority. The older women's opinions bear considerable weight, for it is chiefly they who maintain the customs of the tribe. The mother-in-law and father-in-law are held in special esteem.

Unlike divorce, death is an occasion of genuine sorrow. If a man's wife dies, he may go into mourning for a whole year. His mourning consists in staying in his hut and doing no work, while his dead wife's family brings him food and supports him. When the year is up, he makes a sacrifice to "the little ground god, Anui" before taking another woman. He slaughters a fowl, letting the blood flow from the throat on to the earth. After this ritual sacrifice a big dance is held, and he is permitted to marry again. It is his next wife who insists upon this ritual.

When a man dies, it is sometimes incumbent upon his widow to have intercourse with his oldest surviving brother and marry him. The fact that he may already be married makes no difference whatever. It is imperative that they live together for several months; after that, if there is no affection between them, they can separate. This is a widespread custom among primitives, and there are remnants of it in the present-day customs of orthodox Jews.

Among the Ancuxers it is not necessary for a man to have intercourse with his deceased brother's wife. He must, however, take care of her for a period of six months, after which time she is free to remarry.

A woman may publicly mourn her deceased husband by singing a dirge every little while.

Library--216 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 588 Bush Negroes 588
Beni

Aug

The prohibition is of a purely religious nature and does not entail any social sanctions. Those concerned are convinced that in such a case a supernatural sanction would strike them in the form of sickness or accident.

Prohibitions limiting marriage. Outside of the great exogamous clans, which is attached to unions within one matrilineage and one patrilineage, two prohibitions limiting marriage are found among the Refugee Blacks, which they express thus:

--I cannot have two wives at the same time in the same lineage. For example I am forbidden to marry two "sisters" at the same time, but if I break with my wife, I may marry her classificatory "sister" or any other woman of the same lineage.

--I may not have relations, even purely sexual, with a woman who has been married to my brother by the same custom, in particular, if my brother has just died. I shall not be able to marry his widow.

The Boni are not capable of explaining the deep reasons for these restrictions, but they interpret them as purely social and not religious prohibitions. The offender is simply threatened with being beaten.

The first of these rules seems very widely accepted in Black Africa, as much in patrilineal societies as in a matrilineal system.

The second of these rules is characteristic of the Akan (Ashanti, Baoulé) culture area and shows that the family custom of the Refugee Blacks is related much more directly to that of the Agni-Ashanti group than to that of the Dahomey.

One can see that this rule is exactly contrary to the levirate custom, which obliges the widow to marry one of the brothers of the dead man; this custom has been interpreted by several authors as coming from imitation of the customs of the Jews, with which certain rabbis were acquainted (it is known that among the Marranos there were many Jews).

/[40] cont./

Whatever its origin, we should note that the Saramaka custom has no relation, as far as its legal content is concerned, to the levirate, nor to the inheritance of widows as it is practiced in numerous African societies. It does not correspond in any way to the transmission of a right over the widow, since this right does not exist; it probably results from the idea that the widow is better protected from the effects of the dead man's jealousy if she marries one of his brothers. Besides, she may choose from among all his classificatory brothers, in the matri-lineage as in the patri-lineage, which assures her of a wide choice. She can break this union without any compensation after some months of living together and resume complete liberty.

Frequency of marriages between kin groups. We have listed on the table opposite, the total unions for which we have been able to identify with certainty the kinship of the spouses, including those broken by divorce and death. Their total number is 411.

The table emphasizes the more or less great frequency of unions between /[41]/ Aluku speakers here /[42]/ such-and-such kin groups, as well as the frequency of unions between Bush women and men of other tribes: DIKA'A, PAMAKA, and MATAWAKA.

Out of a total of 411 unions of Bush women are given:
-- 227 with BONI (60%);
-- 41 with DIKA'A (12%);
-- 21 with MATAWAKA (5%);
-- 1 with PAMAKA (1%);
-- 9 with Creoles from Surinam (2%).

The proportion of intertribal marriages (31%) is high, a result from the frequent presence on the Marowijne of Djuka or Saramaka boatmen, coming to carry on transport. The reciprocity is not true; marriages between Bush men and women

[Text Continues on P 209]

/143 cont./

582

Women born from	Age difference between husband and wife. The sign — indicates that the husband is younger than the wife.	Aver-age	Spread
1896 to 1915 incl.	—4/1/—1/8/2/—1/—2/7/3/22/8/—3/2/—1/19/17/8/1/3/1/2/1/3/3/1/1/3/2/2/2/2/2/—2/2/	+1.8 years	—1 to +22 years 22 out of 29 husbands are older than their wives
before 1896	2/1/3/11/—11/—1/5/—2/11/—6/2/1/1/2/2/.	+4.1 years	—11 to +6 years. 9 out of 14 husbands are older than their wives

[143] As the men and women advance in age, the average age difference of six years is maintained in the course of successive remarriages until old age. It decreases then only by the effect of demographic factors, the proportion of women in the highest age brackets being greater and greater.

142 Out of 37 women over 80 years of age in the Ibero villages on the French bank, only 14 were married; all the others had been widows or spinsters for a long time.

Gilliard--222 K-5 (1948-1958) 1961 SRB Bush Negroes SRB
Boni

not done." He advises Boni above all to remit to the girl the payment of her akka, namely two cowries, a string of white beads which she will wear on her left wrist, and a bottle of syrup which she will offer to her akka while drinking it. Boni does not bother to face the mother and does not intend to see the girl again; it is his sister Maria who will attend to the errand.

That done, the mother will accept the fait accompli and will not show her anger. She will wait for the payment.

One also hears talk rather often of the clandestine consummation of a properly arranged marriage, the engaged couple wishing thus to force the hand of their guardians and obtain their freedom sooner.

Remarriage of widows or divorcées. It does not give rise to any payment, but the marriage proposal is made to the woman's uncles and the head of her lineage in the same form as for a girl. In such a case it is no longer a question of asking for an authorization (a man would have to have the worst reputation for the woman's lineage to refuse the marriage) but to obtain the benediction of the ancestors on the household. Moreover, it is very important for the heads of both lineages to be notified of the marriage, for in case of the death of husband or wife the other will have to bear the weight of the mourning.

Women are guided in their choice by sexual attraction but largely also by self-interest. They take care to marry a man who has, as it is said among us, some future, a position. The owners of outboard motors do not fail to pass as reduced speed by the villages in order to be admired by the women.

Men who have a reputation for "working hard" (for work is the sole wealth in Boni country) are frequently chosen by girls even though they may have one or two wives already.

595 /131 cont./

Sticking to statistics, one could say that the Refugee Blacks are monogamous in the proportion of 85 per cent. But it is an apparent monogamy, for unions are not stable; their 581 586 average duration is about ten years; in fact the Refugee Blacks are practicing polygamy over a period of time.

595 A man who takes another wife apologizes to the first and gives her a kiss of talia, asking her to live on good terms with [582] the co-wife. A certain number of wives do not accept co-wives and get divorced.

589 582 163 Most men have had, in general, four or five wives successively. Most of the time these marriages have been broken by the wife. /132/

Example 5.... (65 years old in 1957) had at least seven wives:

-- Nancy (Dip. II)†	1 child	divorced
Saakaaman (K)†	2 children	"
1 Paramaka woman	1 child dead	"
Saundé (Dip. I)	1 child	"
Peete (Bonnidlo)	no children	"
Sinaia (Aoni-Ae.B.)	no children	"
Maaé (K)	"	marriage extant in 1958

Kwami (50 years old in 1958) had four wives:

-- Ajinda (Aoni)	no children	divorced
Saayé (Dip. I)	several children	"
Da (Lapé)	1 child dead	"
Nadeni (Aoni-Ae.B.)	1 child	marriage extant in 1958

159 582 Example of the family life of C.... (50 years old in 1958). About 1931 C.... married M.... (Kaniku), a serious-minded and intelligent woman who was very attached to him. Nevertheless, about the same time he had a clandestine affair with S.... 159 [illegible] illegitimate sister of M.... whom he made pregnant (abortion).

159 /132 cont./
595
[139]
[215]

since it is forbidden to have two wives at the same time in the same lineage, that produced a scandal and his uncles had to intervene so that he would not be beaten.

After that, without leaving M..., he took officially another wife, A... (Papaïnam). They lived together nearly [139] eight years, but A... began to deceive him while he was on a [586] trip. The first time, he only threatened her; the third time he repudiated her.

[619] Again he officially took another wife, T..., a Djuka from the Tapanahoni.

• [587] A year later A..., who wished she had him back, had her uncles intervene so that she might come back into his favor. G..., through deference to her uncles, accepted against his will.

Then he found himself engaged in three unions, M..., [584] A..., and T... He thought this situation was leading him to ruin and sacrificed T... although he had no fault to find with her.

[586] Some time afterward A... began to deceive him again and he repudiated her once and for all.

Finally he took a last wife, S... (Aoué), by whom he had no children.

On each of these undertakings he had to submit to violent scenes by his first wife M..., who was very attached to him and would have liked to keep him for herself alone. Nevertheless, she never divorced him and did not provoke difficulties with her co-wives.

[602] He had a child by M... after more than 15 years of sterile marriage.

In 1958 G... was living with M... and S..., who got along well together. He was not looking for any more new adventures.

/136 cont./

The estimate of the average number of divorces for women born before 1896 is probably lower than the actual number, their first divorces not being well known to our informants. It is probably in the neighborhood of two.

The increase in frequency of divorces among young women is striking. It is related to the weakening of the authority, very strong in former times, exercised by mothers over their daughters.

Here are two examples concerning two girls we have known since their childhood.

Lomé (L2. F'4, Bonoville) born in 1938, began to cause people to talk about her in 1954. She was defiowered by N..... who did not want to marry her. Then she had relations with Amadam (K. Bonoville), who did not want to marry her either. She was beaten, she continued to see him. Now this is extremely shameful for a girl because in so placing herself in a state of inferiority with respect to a man, when her self-respect consists in making a contract between equals.

Her brother Ambroise beat her, and she ended up by marrying Putgam (A.w.B.2. Anni village), who formally asked for her in marriage in 1956. This marriage lasted less than a year. In 1957 Lomé divorced him to marry Diomi (Moniku village).

Agnes (D a. C.56), girl of Anni-Ojo village, born in 1941, had been betrothed with the customary formalities in May, 1956 by Felicia (L2. Lomi village), a young man of 18. It was agreed that the engaged couple would wait two years. But Felicia did not wait and consummated the marriage clandestinely at the end of a few months. Ginga, Agnes's aunt and guardian, became very angry and beat her. She did not give her the [illegible] until May, 1957. The marriage lasted only a few months. [illegible] By the end of 1957 Agnes was breaking off with Felicia and [illegible] openly to look for adventure.

/1ST corr./

[537] [538] A woman who has just been divorced does not remarry immediately. Several months, sometimes a year or more, may go by between two unions, a period during which she thinks only of "living it up," indulging in all the adventures she wishes. This attitude is considered normal, and the elders have nothing to say to her provided that she does not fall into pikadu, or cause any scandal, and that the period does not last too long.

[536] We have cited the example of Agaba, a pretty girl of 18, who at the end of 1957 had just broken with her husband Pacifici /Ayo/ after only one year of living together. She was living with Lingo who brought her up; she was earning a small clearing herself. Beyond that, she had no other concerns but to indulge in all the adventures she liked. Lingo used to come to solicit her favors discreetly, each one reserving his day. From one she would ask for a canoe, from another, soap, kerosene, etc.

[535] [527] Her guardian Lingo used to push her to take another husband, but she could not bring herself to live then, having given with the /Ayo/ her freedom as a woman.

[537] She contracted a new marriage in May or June, 1958 after leading an irregular life for more than six months.

536 As a matter of fact, things go on with great discretion. A man is notified in secret by his sister or /female/ cousin that such-and-such a woman waited on him during a dance, that she will await him at her home on such-and-such a night. At night on the river, one perceives boats which pass close to the shore, advancing silently. In each village there are secondary landings which allow nocturnal visitors to arrive at night without being noticed and to leave again before dawn. /536/

[534] If a woman tests this discretion and if her life is openly dissolute, her mother will beat her and the head of the lineage will inflict punishments on her, but she will not be sent away; in no case can anyone be expelled from his usual village.

/179 cont./

After three months, an offering is made at the huya tibi of the dead person's lineage, setting forth how much her spouse has respected her memory and asking permission to lighten the manifestations of his sorrow. The mourning is then lightened, but the man in mourning continues to wear a headcap around his head or at the very least an old beret.

During the first months the man in mourning has no other responsibility than to hunt and fish at the order of the dead woman's lineage. He does his own cooking with the food given to him; he cuts a clearing for his mother-in-law or another woman of the deceased's relatives, who will farm it with him. Next, he receives the order to go and earn the money necessary for the sizable contribution he must bring to the festival of the lifting of mourning. During the entire duration of the mourning he must report on his work and moves.

When the end of mourning approaches, he must do a job for the benefit of his mother-in-law, generally redoing the roof of her house or building a boat for her.

These arrangements do not involve any material sanction whatever. Like the rest of the social life of the Refugee Blacks, they rest entirely upon fear of a superhuman sanction.

After the lifting of mourning, the person in mourning may remarry without further delay.

Status of widows and co-wives of a widower. The state of a woman in mourning is practically identical to that of a widower. She lives for the duration of mourning in her deceased husband's house under the surveillance of his near relatives on the maternal side. The dead man's lineage lends her all the objects she needs and furnishes the imported commodities (salt, kerosene, soap) that she uses. On the other hand, she may freely use the products of the clearing that her husband had cut for her, since it is taken for granted that these products are the exclusive property of the wife.